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Is There a Noncapitalist Road?

HARRY MAGDOFF

The Crisis Within the Crisis

PAUL M. SWEEZY

Open Veins of Latin America: Seven Years After

EDUARDO GALEANO

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EDITORS: Paul M. Sweezy Harry Magdoff Leo Huberman (1903-1968)
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Bobbye Ortiz

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

This space in last month's (November) issue of MR was devoted entirely to Sybil May who died in New York on October 3rd at the age of 85. This prevented us from carrying out our intention of marking the tenth anniversary of the death of Leo Huberman, a founder and original editor of MR. Leo died in Paris on November 8, 1968. He was born in Newark, New Jersey, on October 17, 1903, was educated in the Newark public schools and at New York University, and pursued a varied career as a writer, teacher, journalist, trade union educator, and book editor before joining in the founding of MR late in 1948 (Vol. 1, No. 1 appeared in May, 1949). From then until his death Leo devoted full time to MR (and later MR Press) as writer, editor, and business manager. To him goes full credit for the enterprise's survival and growth during the difficult years of McCarthyism. He was, perhaps more than any other individual, a living bridge between the Old Left of the 1930s and the New Left of the 1960s; and his stature as a popularizer of radical ideas, in the very best

(*Continued on inside back cover*)

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I

IS THERE A NONCAPITALIST ROAD?

By Harry Magdoff

My remarks will be blunt because of time limits. Perhaps that is just as well, if they thereby also help sharpen some of the issues. In Marxist circles, and prominently advanced at this conference, there is a widespread theory that a third line of social development exists, one that is neither capitalist nor socialist but which nevertheless leads inexorably to socialism. This "non-capitalist development" is supposed to be achieved by those Third World countries which introduce democratic reforms of an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, and anti-feudal nature. Nations that undertake such reforms are thought to be *ipso facto* in a clear-cut transition stage between national liberation and socialist revolution.

This theory rests on two propositions: (1) not all countries must necessarily pass through all the stages of capitalism on the way to socialism; some stages, especially the more advanced ones, can be bypassed; and (2) the typical Third World country, even under the best of circumstances, cannot

This is an edited, and somewhat enlarged, version of the transcript of an intervention made at the Round Table on Socialism and Developing Countries held in Cavtat, Yugoslavia, on September 25-29, 1978. This was the third annual meeting held under the auspices of a Yugoslav institution entitled "The International Conference 'Socialism in the World.'" Participants came from fifty countries.

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move directly from dependency on imperialist centers to socialism; a long period of preparation is needed. Granted that both of these propositions are valid, it is all the more important to distinguish, clearly and unmistakably, between two very different types of post-colonial situations.

On the one hand there are Third World countries where the colonial or neocolonial state has been smashed and a new state created—a new state based upon, and reflecting, the transfer of power to workers, poor peasants, and the most oppressed sections of the population. Here a long and complex class struggle, involving at different times various forms of temporary class alliances and compromises and a great deal of trial-and-error experimentation, is to be expected. There is no guarantee that such a country will eventually enter upon the road to socialist transition. But if there has truly been a transfer of power to the most oppressed, and if the masses have been mobilized to exercise this power, there is a good chance that it will.

On the other hand there are Third World countries in which, despite anti-imperialist actions and grandiose promises and slogans about socialism, the prospects for socialist transition are unlikely to emerge. In these countries the old state, built up under colonial and neocolonial conditions, has not been smashed and the oppressive internal class structure has not been basically altered.* It is true that in some of these nations a seemingly radical shift in class power has taken place: a transfer from the traditional ruling class (compradors of foreign capitalists, big landowners, monopoly business, and bankers) to an alliance based on various segments of the middle class (rich peasants, traders, small industrialists, professionals, upper-echelon civil servants, and military officers). Yet, striking as this change may be, it is important to understand that this new ruling alliance does *not* represent, and eventually must be antagonistic to, the interests of the masses of exploited workers and peasants.

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* In this category, for example, we find, among others, Nkrumah's Ghana, Nasser's Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Burma, all of which have been widely proclaimed as on the noncapitalist development road with a socialist orientation. See V. Solodovnikov and V. Bogoslovsky, *Non-Capitalist Development, An Historical Outline* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), p. 97.

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The underlying social antagonisms of these regimes may at first be obscured because of these class realignments. But a less obvious feature of these governments is that they frequently create conditions out of which new social classes and new class differentiations gradually evolve. New exploiting sectors arise alongside the growth of a state bureaucracy which administers the new nationalized and state-owned industries and financial institutions, the emergence of a new or transformed rural elite which runs the cooperatives or other forms of village organization, and the entrenchment of military officers in various parts of the state apparatus. These are new phenomena, differing in many ways from the "normal" class structure of the advanced capitalist countries; but for all the differences, there is an underlying similarity, since the new ruling power gains its strength and security from the exploitation of other classes. Furthermore, the nationalistic anti-imperialist policies of these regimes are severely limited by the constraints of the world capitalist system in which they operate.

Some of these new and radically oriented governments may at first take bold anti-imperialist measures. Foreign-owned firms may be nationalized and a government monopoly over foreign trade instituted. In addition state-owned industries may be greatly expanded and energetic agricultural reforms introduced. Yet despite all these dramatic reforms, the contradictions and constraints which characterize this kind of society are such that the result is likely to be not a noncapitalist road to socialism, but a new variant of capitalism that in the final analysis remains dependent on the imperialist centers. We know this not only from theory, but also from historical experience.

Why should this be so? While a presentation of the entire argument cannot be undertaken within the present limits, I will briefly touch on three critical problem areas: agriculture, financing investment, and a strategy of development that accommodates to an existing internal class structure.

Agricultural reforms introduced from the top by regimes of the kind in question do not tackle some of the most severe obstacles to agricultural progress. For even reforms which are successful in eliminating very large landowners from the countryside still leave oppressive groups of merchants, moneylenders,

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and rich farmers who rule the roost in the rural villages. These local upper strata may not be very wealthy by Western standards or even by the norms of the big cities in their own countries, but their livelihood and prosperity are based upon the exploitation of the local poor and landless peasants. It follows that an agricultural reform—even one which is very progressive in intent—has only limited value as long as it does not encompass the overthrow of the local oligarchy, including the elimination of the police, gangster squads, courts of justice, and the other sources of power of the local elites. If this oligarchy is not rooted out and the long-oppressed local poor involved in the transfer of power, then conditions for the solution of the agricultural problem do not exist. Neither can the backwardness of the peasantry be overcome nor can the economic constraints on the economy as a whole be removed under these circumstances.

The limitations of agricultural reforms of the so-called noncapitalist development regimes were recognized in one of the papers presented at this Round Table discussion. The suggested solution was the establishment of cooperatives. But what needs to be understood is that without a social revolution in the countryside, cooperatives can quickly become new centers of exploitation. It does not take long before either the old oligarchy, or a new one emerging in the midst of the agricultural reforms, becomes the dominant influence in the cooperative and utilizes its leading position to advance its own interests. For the ones chosen to administer the cooperatives—whether by appointment from the capital or by democratic elections—are those who can read and write, who have connections with leading political groups in the capital, or who have some special advantage such as religious prominence. Since there is no basic change in the social environment and in prevalent economic processes, the cooperatives become instruments for control over the rural poor and for the enrichment of privileged administrators.

What is ultimately at stake in this kind of basically bourgeois agricultural reform is not only the oppression of the rural masses but also the potential for the nation's economic progress. Existing low and unreliable levels of food production in these countries put a lid on the living standards of the urban as well

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as rural masses and restrict the ability to accumulate capital for investment. To open the floodgates of production and productivity the peasants themselves have to become actively involved in removing the shackles of centuries-long oppression and backwardness. They themselves have to become the instruments of a technological agricultural revolution—in the installation and control of irrigation and water conservancy, improved use of manure and other fertilizers, development of reliable storage facilities, experimentation with new seeds and plants, double-cropping, adaptation of new tools and machines, etc. This of course calls for a restructuring and expansion of industry to supply the agricultural sector with the needed supplies, a course which profit-guided industrial firms, whether private or state-owned, are reluctant to pursue. Without a totally new departure in the city *and* in the country, the agricultural bottleneck remains.

A second obstacle to achieving economic independence from the imperialist centers and paving the way for socialist transition arises from the difficulties of increasing investment—or, in Marxist terms, mobilizing the surplus for investment. Planned socialist societies obtain control over the surplus by eliminating the accumulation of surplus in private hands and by regulating wages and prices. The kind of regime we are now discussing can get access to some of the economic surplus via state-owned industries. The profitability of these industries, however, is generally of a low order. Industries counted on to produce for export have to keep down the prices of their products in order to compete in world markets. And the profits of those industries that are concerned with providing materials and equipment for internal private industry are likewise constrained in order to provide profitable opportunities to smaller native industrialists who are part of the social base on which these regimes rely. The major source for financing of development must therefore come from taxation.

Apart from persistent difficulties arising from tax evasion, this method of surplus mobilization becomes a major source of social tension. The masses have little enough income from which taxes can be extracted. Furthermore, given prevailing low levels of productivity and therefore of total national output, the tax

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bite on the middle and upper echelons has to be quite large if a sufficient surplus is to be obtained. Theoretically, the non-capitalist road is one in which harmonious class alliances are needed for the struggle against monopoly capital and imperialism. But in fact the extremely perplexing problems of internal financing for growth intensifies sources of conflict not only between the lower and upper classes but within the dominant class-alliance as well. Inability to overcome the contradictions and social unrest involved in collecting investment funds leads either to stagnation or to reopening the door for the investors and bankers of the advanced capitalist nations.

This turn to foreign investment and loans, and the consequent increased dependency on the imperialist metropoles, has still other roots, primarily an inability to step firmly onto the path of self-reliance. The latter goal is loudly proclaimed, but the steps taken in that direction are necessarily tentative and limited. The reason is that self-reliance cannot be reached without a basic restructuring of the economy and a determined reversal of the "classical" social priorities of a bourgeois society. It is also of vital significance that these regimes find it necessary to follow the consumption patterns of the advanced capitalist nations. This being the case, the economic strategies of the presumably noncapitalist nations must, in the final analysis, resemble those of the nonrevolutionary capitalist societies. Nor does the similarity stop at the outline of economic strategy. In both types of Third World countries the need for foreign exchange with which to buy capital goods, raw materials, and food is met by focusing on the expansion of exports. But the exports of the countries of the kind we have been considering are especially vulnerable to the vicissitudes and manipulations of world markets. Balance-of-payments deficits therefore crop up repeatedly. Relief is then sought by attracting more foreign investors and lenders. And this is the route to ever more and greater balance-of-payments crises, since profits have to be paid to investors and interest to lenders. Debt peonage is therefore always on the horizon.

In short, even with the best intentions the countries which do not undertake a true social revolution remain trapped on "the capitalist road" or are quickly pushed back on to it.

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My purpose in these brief remarks has not been to throw a blanket of despair on all reform-minded governments. Situations vary from country to country, and it is not my aim, nor is it within my competence, to propose an absolute formula applicable to all situations in the Third World. What I am warning against is blind optimism and the substitution of illusions for hard analysis.

II

CRISIS WITHIN THE CRISIS

By Paul M. Sweezy

In what follows I assume, without attempting to demonstrate, that the global capitalist system entered a period of crisis in the first half of the 1970s; that this period of crisis will be of long duration, with no end now in sight; that its characteristic features are a retarded rate of capital accumulation (implying, both as cause and as effect, a relatively low rate of profit), rising unemployment, and continuing inflation at rates well above those of the previous quarter century. Economic fluctuations of the familiar business-cycle type continue during such a period of stagnation (as they did, for example, during the stagnant 1930s), and additional shocks and disturbances to the system (crises within the crisis) are not only possible but inevitable.

This note was written for a special issue of *Rinascita*, a weekly publication of the Communist Party of Italy, scheduled to appear (in Italian) in November.

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My immediate focus is on this last phenomenon (crises within the crisis), and my remarks center on the United States, partly because I am most familiar with the situation there, and partly because it is the largest and most influential unit in the global system.

The United States is the only one of the advanced capitalist countries which has experienced a vigorous and still continuing recovery from the cyclical downturn of 1974-1975. This upswing, however, has not been based on a high rate of capital accumulation (private investment) as is the normal pattern, but on increases in consumption and government spending. And these increases, in turn, have been made possible by an unprecedentedly rapid growth of private and government debt. To quote a recent special report in *Business Week* (October 16), the leading U.S. business journal: "Since late 1975 the U.S. has created a new debt economy, a credit explosion so wild and so eccentric that it dwarfs even the borrowing binge of the early 1970s." At the present time consumer debt (including residential mortgages) amounts to more than $1,000 billion (billion = thousand million), an increase of over 50 percent since 1975; and the debt of the federal government has risen almost 50 percent to $825 billion.

This debt explosion is not limited to the United States. Even more dramatic has been the increase in Euromarket debt (including Eurocurrency bank credit and Euromarket bonds) which, according to *Business Week*'s figures, grew from $34.4 billion in 1975 to an estimated $88 billion in 1978, an increase of 156 percent, with developed and underdeveloped (including OPEC) countries both participating heavily in this borrowing spree.

The following comments will help to throw light on the meaning and implications of these developments.

First, it is clear that in the absence of this multi-faceted debt explosion, not only would the U.S. recovery from the recession of 1974-1975 have been much weaker; this would have been equally true of the global system as a whole, and in the case of many countries there might not have been any recovery at all. There are at least two reasons for this: (a) a weaker U.S. recovery would have meant a reduced volume

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of U.S. imports, hence a lower demand for the commodities produced by supplier countries (EEC, Japan, OPEC, "Fourth World" raw materials); and (b) without Euromarket loans all these countries would have been forced to restrict their imports, with depressing effects on world markets and world production.

Second, no one believes that debt expansion can continue much longer at the rate of the last three years. But any slowdown in *the rate of expansion* of debt is bound to be reflected in a reduction in *the absolute level* of debt-supported demand for goods and services, since the burden of interest charges plus debt repayment continues for a long time to reduce the amount of spendable income at the disposal of borrowers. It is impossible to predict the precise timing of the slowdown in debt expansion, but certain facts indicate the probability that it will come sooner rather than later: these are, first, that the next phase of the business cycle is almost certain to be a downswing; and, second, that at least in the United States there is a growing consensus among observers of the economic scene that the onset of this new phase could come in the very near future. A normal cyclical downturn coinciding with a slowdown in the current rate of debt expansion could trigger a recession at least as sharp as that of 1974-1975.

But this is not all. The world debt structure has been ballooning more or less continuously ever since the long post-Second World War boom began more than a quarter of a century ago: in fact this debt-expansion process has been one of the crucial forces sustaining the boom. But we know from long historical experience that as debt structures expand they develop more and more weak spots and that eventually there comes a time when these weak spots begin to give way, threatening the whole structure with collapse. It is not hard to point to many such weak spots at the present time. In the United States, for example, there is widespread concern that consumers are now so deeply in debt that a serious cyclical recession would bring on a wave of defaults and bankruptcies. And on the international scene the situation of many borrowing countries in the Third and Fourth Worlds is precarious in the extreme. Moreover, once defaults and bankruptcies start on a sufficiently

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large scale, they can quickly snowball into a full-scale financial panic. This is also a lesson of history which has too often been forgotten in the euphoria of postwar "prosperity." *Business Week* is hardly exaggerating when it says, in the report cited above, that we have now reached a point when, "unless the nation is very lucky indeed, the new debt economy—already more than 50 percent higher than the old [pre-1975] debt economy—could come crashing down." What is said of the nation could equally well be said of the capitalist world.

One final question has to be raised, though as of now it cannot be answered: if the "crisis within the crisis" which now threatens should develop into a financial crackup, analogous to what happened following the downfall of Austria's Creditanstalt in 1931, would the consequence be a splintering of the world market and the world monetary system, with the development of protectionism, trade wars, currency blocs, and new military adventures such as characterized the 1930s? Or would the advanced capitalist countries be pushed toward closer cooperation in efforts to contain and control the crisis and ultimately to lay the international foundations for a new period of accelerated capital accumulation?

Either course would be filled with pitfalls and obstacles, and of course there would be no guarantee of success even in the narrowest capitalist interpretation of the term. And as far as the masses are concerned, those who are already suffering the effects of the long-term crisis of the global capitalist system, they have nothing to gain from any of capitalism's efforts to save itself. Sooner or later they are going to have to find their own salvation, which can only come through withdrawing from what has become a hopelessly self-contradictory system and beginning the arduous task of building a society which puts the needs and interests of the producers of the world's wealth above the needs and interests of those who now appropriate and misuse it.

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OPEN VEINS OF LATIN AMERICA:
SEVEN YEARS AFTER

BY EDUARDO GALEANO

Seven years have gone by since *Open Veins of Latin America* was first published.

This book was written to have a talk with people. A non-specialized writer wanted to tell a non-specialized public about certain facts that official history, history as told by conquerors, hides or lies about.

The most heartening response came not from the book pages in the press but from real incidents in the streets. The girl who was quietly reading *Open Veins* to her companion in a bus in Bogotá, and finally stood up and read it aloud to all the passengers. The woman who fled from Santiago in the days of the Chilean bloodbath with this book wrapped inside her baby's diapers. The student who went from one bookstore to another for a week in Buenos Aires' Calle Corrientes, reading bits of it in each store because he hadn't the money to buy it.

This is an introduction to a new edition of Eduardo Galeano's *Open Veins Of Latin America* (Monthly Review Press). The translation is by Cedric Belfrage. Galeano is also the author of *Vagamundo,* a collection of short stories; *La canción de nosotros,* a novel which won the Casa de las Américas award in 1975; and, most recently, *Diás y Noches de Amor y de Guerra,* a 1978 Casa de las Américas award-winner.

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And the most favorable reviews came not from any prestigious critic but from the military dictatorships that praised the book by banning it. For example, *Open Veins* is unobtainable either in my country, Uruguay, or in Chile; in Argentina the authorities denounced it on TV and in the press as a corrupter of youth. As Blas de Otero remarked, "They don't let people see what I write because I write what I see."

I don't think there is vanity in the pleasure I have had, as time went by, in seeing that *Open Veins* has not been a mute book.

I know I can be accused of sacrilege in writing about political economy in the style of a novel about love or pirates. But I confess I get a pain from reading valuable works by certain sociologists, political experts, economists, and historians who write in code. Hermetic language isn't the invariable and inevitable price of profundity. In some cases it can simply conceal incapacity for communication raised to the category of intellectual virtue. I suspect that boredom can thus often serve to sanctify the established order, confirming that knowledge is a privilege of the elite.

Something similar occurs, one might add, with a certain militant literature aimed at a public of the converted. For all its revolutionary rhetoric, a language that mechanically repeats the same clichés, adjectives, and declamatory formulas for the same ears seems conformist to me. It could be that this parochial literature is as remote from revolution as pornography is remote from eroticism.

One writes to try and answer the questions that buzz in one's head, obstinate flies that disturb one's sleep; and what one writes can take on collective sense when it coincides in some way with the social necessity for a reply. I wrote *Open Veins* to spread some ideas of other people, and some experiences of my own, which might dispel a little of the fog from questions always pursuing us: Is Latin America a region condemned to humiliation and poverty? Condemned by whom? Is God, is Nature, to blame? The oppressive climate, racial inferiority? Religion, customs? Or may not its plight be a product

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of history, made by human beings and so, unmakable by human beings?

Veneration for the past has always seemed to me reactionary. The right chooses to talk about the past because it prefers dead people: a quiet world, a quiet time. The powerful who legitimize their privileges by heredity cultivate nostalgia. History is studied as if we were visiting a museum; but this collection of mummies is a swindle. They lie to us about the past as they lie to us about the present: they mask the face of reality. They force the oppressed victims to absorb an alien, dessicated, sterile memory fabricated by the oppressor, so that they will resign themselves to a life that isn't theirs as if it were the only one possible.

Open Veins seeks to portray the past as something always convoked by the present, a live memory of our own day. A search for keys in past history to help explain our time—a time that also makes history—on the basis that the first condition for changing reality is to understand it. This is no catalog of heroes, dressed as if for a masked ball, who die in battle making long solemn pronouncements; rather it probes for the sound and footprints of the multitudes who traced the paths we walk today. *Open Veins* has its roots in reality but also in other books —better books than this one—which have helped us recognize what we are so as to know what we can be, and see where we come from so as to reckon more clearly where we're going. That reality and those books show that underdevelopment in Latin America is a consequence of development elsewhere, that we Latin Americans are poor because the ground we tread is rich, and that places privileged by nature have been cursed by history. In this world of ours, a world of powerful centers and subjugated outposts, there is no wealth that must not be held in some suspicion.

In the years since the first edition of *Open Veins,* history has not ceased to be a cruel mistress to us.

The system has multiplied hunger and fear; wealth has become more and more concentrated, poverty more and more widespread. That is recognized by the documents of specialized international organizations, in whose aseptic vocabulary our

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oppressed territories are "countries in process of development" and the pitiless impoverishment of the working class is "regressive income distribution."

The international Moloch-machine has kept on grinding: countries at the service of commodities, people at the service of things.

With the passage of time methods of exporting crises are perfected. Monopoly capital reaches its highest peak of concentration, and international domination of markets, credits, and investments makes possible the systematic and growing transfer of contradictions: the outposts pay the price for the prosperity of the centers.

The international market remains one of the master keys to this operation. There the multinational corporations impose their dictatorship—multinational (as Paul Sweezy explains) because they operate in many countries, yet highly and assuredly national in ownership and control. The global organization of inequality is not affected by the fact that (for example) Brazil now exports Volkswagens to other South American countries and to the distant markets of Africa and the Middle East. In the last analysis it is the German Volkswagen concern that has considered it more convenient to export cars to certain markets from its Brazilian affiliate: the low production costs and cheap labor are Brazilian, the high profits are German.

Nor is the straitjacket magically broken when some raw material manages to escape from the curse of low prices. This has been the case with petroleum since 1973. Isn't petroleum an international business? Standard Oil of New Jersey (now known as Exxon), Royal Dutch Shell, Gulf: are they Arabian or Latin American enterprises? Who takes home the lion's share? The hubbub raised against oil-producing countries has in fact been most revealing. They dared defend their prices and immediately became the scapegoats for inflation and unemployment in Europe and the United States. Did the most developed countries ever consult with anyone before raising the price of any of their products? For 20 years the price of oil sagged and sagged. Its paltry market quotation represented a giant subsidy for the world's great industrial centers whose products at the same time got dearer and dearer. Relative to

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the ceaseless price rises of U.S. and European products, the new price of oil has no more than brought it back to its 1952 levels. Crude oil merely recovered in 1973 the purchasing power it had two decades earlier.

Among the important events of these seven years was the nationalization of oil in Venezuela. It didn't break Venezuela's dependency with respect to refining and marketing, but it opened a new space of autonomy. From soon after its birth the state concern Petroleos de Venezuela took first place among Latin America's 500 biggest enterprises. It began seeking markets apart from the traditional ones and rapidly found 50 new customers.

But as always when the state takes over a country's principal wealth, it is appropriate to ask who runs the state. Nationalization of basic resources doesn't in itself imply redistribution of income for the majority's benefit, nor does it necessarily endanger the power and privileges of the dominant minority. In Venezuela the economy of waste and extravagance continues intact. The neon-lit center is as resplendent as ever with the squandermania of a multimillionaire class. In 1976 imports rose by 25 percent, largely to finance the super-luxury articles which inundate the Venezuelan market. Commodity fetishism as a symbol of power, human existence reduced to competitive and consumer relationships. In the ocean of underdevelopment the privileged minority apes the life-style and fashions of the richest members of the world's most opulent societies. In the bedlam of Caracas, as in New York, commodities that are "natural" by definition—air, light, silence—become ever costlier and costlier. "Watch out," warns Juan Pablo Pérez Alfonso, patriarch of Venezuela's nationalism and prophet of the recovery of its oil, "one can die from indigestion as well as from hunger."[1]*

I finished writing *Open Veins* in the last days of 1970.

In the last days of 1977 Juan Velasco Alvarado died on an operating table. His coffin was carried shoulder-high to the cemetery by the greatest multitude ever seen in the streets of

* Notes will be found at the end of the article.

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Lima. Born in a humble house in north Peru's dry lands, General Velasco Alvarado had headed a process of social and economic reforms. It was the deepest and most far-reaching attempt at change in his country's recent history. After the 1968 revolt the military government pushed a genuine agrarian reform and opened a road to recovery of the natural resources usurped by foreign capital. But some time before Velasco Alvarado died, the funeral of the revolution had been held. The creative process had a fleeting life: it ended up strangled by the blackmail of loan sharks and merchants and by the implicit fragility of any paternalistic project with no organized popular base.

On the eve of Christmas, 1977, while General Velasco Alvarado's heart was beating its last in Peru, the fist of another general who in no way resembled him pounded on a desk in Bolivia. General Hugo Banzer, dictator of Bolivia, said NO to amnesty for the prisoners, the exiled, and the fired workers. Four women and 14 children, who had come to La Paz from the tin mines, then started a hunger strike.

"This isn't the moment," pronounced the wiseacres. "We'll let you know when. . . ."

The women sat down on the floor.

"We're not asking you," they said, "we're telling you. The decision has been taken. Up there at the mine it's a permanent hunger strike. You get born and the hunger strike starts right then and there. And that's where we have to die too. It's slower, but we have to die too."

The government reacted with castigations and threats, but the hunger strike let loose forces that were long pent up. All Bolivia was shaken and showed its teeth. Ten days later there were no longer four women and 14 children: 1,400 workers and students had gone on hunger strike. The dictatorship felt the ground wobbling beneath its feet. And the general amnesty was won.

Thus two Andean countries crossed the frontier between 1977 and 1978. Further north in the Caribbean, Panama awaited the promised liquidation of the colonial status of its canal after thorny negotiations with the new U.S. government; and in Cuba the people were having a party: the un-

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conquered socialist revolution was celebrating its first 19 years of life. A few days later in Nicaragua a furious multitude poured out into the streets. Dictator Somoza, son of dictator Somoza, peered out through the keyhole. Various businesses were put to the torch by the angry people. One of them, Plasmaféresis by name, specialized in vampirism. This concern which went up in smoke at the beginning of 1978 was the property of Cuban exiles, and its business was selling Nicaraguan blood to the United States. (In the blood business, as in all others, what the producers receive is barely a tip. The Hemo Caribbean outfit, for example, pays Haitians $3 per liter of blood, which it resells for $25 in the U.S. market.)

In August of 1976 Orlando Letelier published an article describing the terror of the Pinochet dictatorship and the "economic liberty" of small privileged groups as two sides of the same coin.[2] Letelier, who had been a minister in Salvador Allende's government, was exiled in the United States. There he was blown to pieces shortly afterwards.[3] He submitted in his article that it was absurd to talk of free competition in an economy such as Chile's, subjected to the monopolies which play with prices at their whim, and laughable to mention workers' rights in a country where genuine unions are outside the law and the military junta fixes wages by decree. Letelier described the massive destruction of gains made by the Chilean people during the Popular Unity government. The dictatorship had returned to their former owners half of the industrial monopolies and oligopolies which Allende nationalized, and put the other half up for sale. Firestone had bought the national tire factory, Parsons and Whittemore, a big paper plant. The Chilean economy, wrote Letelier, is more concentrated and monopolized now than on the eve of the Allende government.[4] *Business free as never before, people in jail as never before; in Latin America free enterprise is incompatible with civil liberties.* Free market? The price of milk has not been controlled in Chile since early in 1975. The result is as expected. Two firms dominate the market. The price of milk for consumers went up immediately by 40 percent, while for the producers it went down by 22 percent.

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Infant mortality, substantially reduced during the Popular Unity regime, rose dramatically with Pinochet. When Letelier was assassinated in a Washington street, one quarter of Chile's population was getting *no* income and survived thanks to foreign charity or their own stubbornness and guile.

The abyss that exists in Latin America between the well-being of the few and the misery of the many is infinitely greater than in Europe or the United States. Hence the methods necessary to maintain it are much more ruthless. Brazil has an enormous and excellently equipped army but devotes only 5 percent of the national budget to education. In Uruguay half the budget now goes for the armed forces and police, and the function of one fifth of the active population is to watch, trail, and punish the others.

Undoubtedly among Latin America's most important and tragic events of these years of the seventies was the military insurrection that overthrew Salvador Allende's democratic government on September 11, 1973, and submerged Chile in a bath of blood.

A little earlier, in June, a coup d'état in Uruguay had dissolved the parliament, put unions outside the law, and banned all political activity.[5]

In March of 1976 the Argentine generals returned to power: the government of Juan Domingo Perón's widow had become a stench and it fell, unregretted and unsung.

The three southern countries are today a festering sore upon the globe, chronic bad news. Torture, kidnapping, murder, and exile have become the daily round. These dictatorships are tumors to be extirpated from healthy organs—or are they the pus that betrays the infection of the system?

There is always, I believe, a close relationship between the intensity of the threat and the brutality of the response. I doubt if present events in Brazil and Bolivia can be grasped without taking into account the experience of the Jango Goulart and Juan José Torres regimes. Before they fell, these governments had put into effect a series of social reforms and promoted a nationalist political economy, during a process that was cut off in 1964 in Brazil and in 1971 in Bolivia. *In the same way we could well say that Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay are expiating*

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the sin of hope. The cycle of deep changes under Allende, the banners of justice that mobilized Argentina's working masses and rose high during the short-lived Héctor Cámpora government in 1973, and the stepped-up politicization of Uruguayan youth, were all challenges not to be tolerated by a system that was impotent and in crisis. The potent oxygen of liberty was explosive for the specters, and the pretorian guard was summoned to save law and order. The clean-up plan is a plan of extermination.

The Congressional Record of the United States is replete with irrefutable evidence of interventions in Latin America. Guilt-ridden consciences purge themselves in the imperial confessionals. Recently official admissions of U.S. responsibility for various disasters have multiplied. Full public confessions have proved among other things that the U.S. government directly participated in Chilean politics by bribery, espionage, and blackmail. The strategy for the crime was planned in Washington. Kissinger and the intelligence services were carefully preparing the fall of Allende ever since 1970. Millions of dollars were distributed among enemies of the legal Popular Unity government. That, for example, was how the truck owners in 1973 could keep going their long strike which paralyzed much of the country's economy. The assurance of impunity loosens tongues. When the coup took place against Goulart, the United States had in Brazil its largest embassy anywhere on earth. Lincoln Gordon, the ambassador, admitted to a journalist 13 years later that his government had long been financing the forces opposing the reforms. "What the hell," said Gordon, "that was more or less a habit in those days. . . . The CIA used to dole out political funds."[6] In the same interview Gordon explained that when the coup took place the Pentagon had a huge aircraft carrier and four supply ships stationed off the Brazilian coast "in case the anti-Goulart forces should ask for our help." That help, he said, "wouldn't be just moral. We would back them up logistically, with supplies, munitions, oil."

Since President Jimmy Carter announced a policy of human rights, it has become the custom for Latin American regimes imposed by U.S. intervention to formulate indignant

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pronouncements against U.S. intervention in their internal affairs.

The U.S. Congress resolved in 1976 and 1977 to suspend economic and military aid to various countries. But most U.S. external aid doesn't go through the congressional filter. So despite pronouncements, resolutions, and protests General Pinochet's regime got $290 million of direct U.S. aid in 1976 without congressional authorization. When General Videla's dictatorship in Argentina was a year old it had received $500 million from private U.S. banks and $415 million from two institutions (World Bank and Bank for International Development) in which the United States has decisive influence. Argentina's special rights for International Monetary Fund loans, $64 million in 1975, had risen to $700 million two years later.

President Carter's concern about the butchery in some Latin American countries seems healthy, but the present dictators are not self-taught: they have learned the techniques of repression and the arts of government at academies run by the Pentagon in the United States and the Panama Canal Zone. These courses are still being given today, and no change is known to have been made in their content. The Latin American military men who are now causing a scandal in the United States have been good pupils. A few years ago when he was Defense Secretary, Robert McNamara, now president of the World Bank, spelled it out: "They are the new leaders. I don't need to expatiate on the value of having in leadership positions men who have previously become closely acquainted with how we Americans think and do things. Making friends with those men is beyond price."[7]

One wonders if those who made us paralytic might offer us a wheelchair?

The bishops of France speak about another sort of responsibility, deeper and less visible: "We, who belong to nations purporting to be the world's most advanced, form a part of those who benefit from exploitation of the developing countries. We do not see the sufferings that this inflicts on the flesh and spirit of entire peoples. We help to reinforce the division of the present world in which the domination of poor by rich, of weak by strong, is conspicuous. Do we know that our squan-

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dering of resources and raw materials would not be possible without the control of international exchange by the Western countries? Do we not see who profits from the arms traffic, of which our country has provided sad examples? Do we perhaps understand that the militarization of poor countries' regimes is one of the consequences of economic and cultural domination by the industrialized countries, where life is ruled by the lust for profits and the power of money?"[8]

Dictators, torturers, inquisitors: the terror has its officials, just as it has postoffices and banks, and they apply it because it is necessary. It isn't a case of a plot by the perverse. General Pinochet may look like a figure in Goya's "black art," a prize specimen for psychoanalysts, or the inheritor of a savage tradition from the banana republics. But the clinical or folkloric roots of this or that dictator, which provide seasoning for history, are not history. Who would dare maintain today that the First World War broke out because of the complexes of Kaiser Wilhelm, who had one arm shorter than the other? As Bertolt Brecht wrote at the end of 1940 in his working diary: "In democratic countries the violent character inherent in the economy doesn't show itself; in authoritarian countries the same holds true for the economic character of violence."

In Latin America's southern lands the centurions have taken over power as a function of the needs of the system: the terrorism of the state is put into action when the dominant classes can pursue their business by no other means. *Torture wouldn't exist in our countries if it weren't effective; formal democracy would continue if it could be guaranteed not to get out of the hands that hold power.* In difficult times democracy becomes a crime against national security—that is, against the security of internal privilege and foreign investment. Our devices for mincing human flesh are part of an international machinery. The whole society is militarized, the state of exception is made permanent, and the repressive apparatus is endowed with hegemony by the turn of a screw in the centers of the imperial system. When crisis begins to throw its shadow, the pillage of poor countries must be intensified to guarantee full employment, public liberties, and high rates of development in the rich countries. *The sinister dialectic of victim-hangman relations: a*

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structure of successive humiliations that starts in international markets and financial centers and ends in every citizen's home.

Haiti is the poorest country in the Western hemisphere. It has more foot-washers than shoe shiners: little boys who, for a penny, will wash the feet of customers lacking shoes to shine. Haitians, on the average, live a bit more than 30 years. Nine out of every ten can't read or write. For internal consumption the barren mountain sides are cultivated. For export, the fertile valleys: the best lands are given to coffee, sugar, cacao, and other products needed by the U.S. market. No one plays baseball in Haiti, but Haiti is the world's chief producer of baseballs. There is no shortage of workshops where children assemble cassettes and electronic parts for a dollar a day. These are naturally for export; and naturally the profits are also exported, after the administrators of the terror have duly got theirs. The slightest breath of protest in Haiti means prison or death. Incredible as it sounds, Haitian workers' wages lost 25 percent of their wretched real value between 1971 and 1975.[9] Significantly, in that period a new flow of U.S. capital into the country began.

I recall an editorial in a Buenos Aires daily a couple of years ago. An old conservative newspaper was bellowing with fury because some international document depicted Argentina as an underdeveloped country. How could a cultured, European, prosperous, white society be measured by the same yardstick as a poor black country such as Haiti?

Of course the differences are enormous, although they have little to do with the analytical categories of Buenos Aires' arrogant oligarchy. But with all the diversities and contradictions one could mention, Argentina isn't outside the vicious circle that strangles the Latin American economy as a whole. No intellectual exorcism can remove it from the reality that, to a greater or smaller extent, the other countries of the region share with it.

General Videla's massacres are, after all, no more civilized than those of "Papa Doc" Duvalier or his successor to the throne, although in Argentina the technological level of the repression is higher. Essentially both dictatorships act at the

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service of the same objective: *to supply cheap labor to an international market that demands cheap products.*

Fresh from taking power, the Videla dictatorship hastened to ban strikes and decree freedom of prices while putting wages behind bars. Five months after the coup d'état, the new foreign investment law put foreign and national enterprises on an equal footing. Thus free competition put an end to the unfair handicap suffered by certain multinational corporations vis-à-vis local concerns—for example, poor unprotected General Motors, whose world sales volume equals the entire gross national product of Argentina. Also now liberated, with gossamer limitations, is the remission of profits abroad and the repatriation of invested capital.

When the regime was a year old the real value of wages had fallen by 40 percent. The feat was accomplished by terror. "Fifteen thousand disappeared, 10,000 jailed, 4,000 dead, tens of thousands exiled—that is the naked balance sheet of the terror," as the writer Rodolfo Walsh totted it up in an open letter. Walsh sent the letter on March 29, 1977, to the three chiefs of the governing junta. On that same day he was kidnapped and disappeared.

Unimpeachable sources confirm that a diminutive part of the new direct foreign investments in Latin America really comes from their country of origin. According to a U.S. Department of Commerce survey[10] a mere 12 percent of the funds comes from the enterprises' U.S. headquarters, 22 percent comes from profits made in Latin America, and the remaining 66 percent from internal-credit, and above all international-credit, sources. The proportion is similar for investments of European or Japanese origin. And it must be borne in mind that the 12 percent of investment coming from the enterprises' headquarters is often nothing more than the result of transfer of already used machinery or simply reflects the arbitrary appraisal placed by the enterprises upon their industrial "know-how," their patents and their brand names. *Thus the multinational corporations not only usurp the internal credit of countries where they operate, in exchange for a distinctly dubious capital contribution, but also multiply those countries' external debts.*

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Latin America's external debt in 1975 was almost three times greater than in 1969.[11] In 1975 approximately half of Brazil's, Mexico's, Chile's, and Uruguay's incomes from exports went for amortization and interest on the debt, and for paying the profits of foreign concerns operating in those countries. Servicing of debt and profit remittances in that year swallowed 55 percent of Panama's exports and 60 percent of Peru's.[12] In 1969 every Bolivian owed $137 to foreigners; in 1977, $483. The inhabitants of Bolivia weren't consulted, nor did they see a centavo of those loans that put the rope around their necks.

Citibank doesn't appear as a candidate on any list, in the few Latin American countries that still have elections; and none of the generals who run the dictatorships is named International Monetary Fund. But whose is the hand that executes, whose the mind that gives the orders? He who lends, commands. In order to pay, more must be exported; and more must be exported in order to finance imports and to confront the hemorrhage of profits and "royalties" that the foreign concerns drain into their central coffers. The increase of exports, whose purchasing power shrinks, implies hunger wages. Massive poverty, the key to success for an economy skewed to the outside, prevents such growth of the internal consumer market as is necessary for smooth economic development. Our countries are becoming echoes and losing their own voice. They depend on others, they exist to the extent that they respond to others' needs. And in turn the remodeling of the economy as a function of external demand brings us back to the original hangman's rope: it opens the doors for pillage by foreign monopolies and forces us to seek new and larger loans from the international bankers. *The vicious circle is perfect: foreign debt and foreign investment oblige us to multiply exports that they themselves devour. The task can't be accomplished with gentlemanly manners. To fulfill their function as hostages of foreign prosperity, Latin American workers must be held prisoner, either inside or outside the bars of the jails.*

Savage exploitation of labor is not incompatible with intensive technology. It never was, in our countries: consider the

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legions of Bolivian workers who left their lungs in the Oruro mines in the time of Simón Patiño in a system of wage-slavery, yet with very modern machinery. The "tin baron" knew how to combine the highest levels of technology in his day with the lowest levels of wages.[13]

Furthermore in our day, importation of the most advanced economies' technology coincides with expropriation of locally capitalized industries by the all-powerful multinationals. The capital-centralizing movement is achieved by "ruthless wiping out of 'obsolete' entrepreneurial levels which, not by accident, are precisely those of national ownership."[14] The speeded-up denationalization of Latin American industry carries with it a growing technological dependency. Technology, the decisive key to power, is monopolized in the capitalist world by the metropolitan centers. It comes to us second-hand but those centers charge for the copies as if they were the originals. In 1970 Mexico paid twice as much as in 1968 for importation of foreign technology. Between 1965 and 1969 Brazil doubled its payments, and so did Argentina over the same period.

Technology transfer swells the astronomical foreign debts and has devastating effects on the labor market. In a system organized to drain off profits abroad, the labor force of "traditional" enterprise has ever less opportunities for employment. In exchange for a dubious shot in the arm for the rest of the economy, the islets of modern industry sacrifice workers as they reduce the labor time necessary for production. The existence of a large and growing army of unemployed in turn facilitates the destruction of the real value of wages.

Even the documents of the UN's Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) now talk about a new international division of labor. The technicians hazard the hope that, within a few years, Latin America will perhaps export as much manufactures as it now sells raw materials and food.

The wage differentials between developed countries and those in development, including Latin America, may bring about a new division of activities between countries, displacing from the former to the latter for competitive reasons those industries in which labor costs are very important. Labor costs for manufacturing industry,

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for example, are generally much lower in Mexico or Brazil than in the United States.[15]

Sparkplug of progress or neocolonial adventure? Electrical and non-electrical machinery is already one of Mexico's chief exports. And in Brazil, the sale abroad of vehicles and armaments grows. Some Latin American countries are experiencing a new stage of industrialization, largely induced and oriented by foreign needs and the foreign masters of the means of production. Won't this be another chapter to add to our long history of "development toward the outside"? In world markets the constantly rising prices don't correspond generically with "manufactured products" but with commodities of a more sophisticated and technological nature which is exclusive to the more developed economies. *Whatever Latin America sells—raw materials or manufactures—its chief export product is really cheap labor.*

Hasn't our experience throughout history been one of mutilation and disintegration disguised as development? Centuries ago the conquest cleared our lands to plant crops for export and annihilated the indigenous populations in the mines to satisfy the demand abroad for silver and gold. The diet of the pre-Columbian population that could survive the exterminations *deteriorated* as the foreigners progressed. In our day the people of Peru produce fishmeal, very rich in protein, for the cattle of the United States and Europe, but proteins are conspicuously absent from the diet of most Peruvians. The Volkswagen affiliate in Switzerland plants a tree for every car it sells—gracious ecological gesture—while the Volkswagen affiliate in Brazil uproots thousands of acres of forest to dedicate them to intensive production of meat for export. The Brazilian people, who very rarely eat meat, sell more and more meat abroad. Recently Darcy Ribeiro remarked to me that there isn't much difference between a "Volkswagen republic" and a "banana republic." For every dollar produced from exporting bananas, just 11 cents remain in the producing country,[16] and of those 11 cents only a meager part goes to the plantation workers. Do the proportions change when a Latin American country exports automobiles?

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Slave ships no longer ply the ocean. Today the slavers operate from the ministries of labor. African wages, European prices. What are the Latin American coups d'état but successive episodes in a war of pillage? The dictators hardly grasp their scepters before they invite foreign concerns to exploit the local, cheap, and abundant work force, the unlimited credit, the tax exemptions, and the natural resources that await them on a silver tray.

Employees of the Chilean government's emergency plan get a wage equivalent to $30 a month. A kilo of bread costs half a dollar, so they get two kilos of bread a day. The minimum monthly wage in Uruguay and Argentina is the present equivalent of six kilos of coffee. In Brazil it is $60 a month but the *boias frias,* migrant rural workers, get from 50 cents to $1 a day on the coffee, soybean, and other export-crop plantations. The fodder consumed by Mexican cattle contains more protein than the diet of *campesinos* who tend them. The meat of these cattle is destined for a few privileged mouths within the country and above all for the international market. Agriculture for export flourishes in Mexico beneath the shield of a generous policy of credits and official facilities, while the amount of protein available per inhabitant *fell* between 1970 and 1976, and in rural areas only one of every five Mexican kids has normal weight and height.[17] In Guatemala rice, corn, and beans for internal consumption are left to the will of God, but coffee, cotton, and other export products absorb 87 percent of the credit. Of every *ten* Guatemalan families who work at raising and harvesting coffee, the country's chief source of foreign exchange, hardly *one* gets a minimally adequate diet.[18] In Brazil only 5 percent of agricultural credit goes for rice, beans, and manioc, which constitute the basic diet of Brazilians; the rest goes for export products.

The recent collapse of world sugar prices did not, as it once did, set off a famine among Cuba's *campesinos*. In Cuba malnutrition no longer exists. On the other hand the almost simultaneous rise of world coffee prices did nothing to ease the chronic poverty of Brazilian coffee workers. The rise in coffee prices in 1976—a euphoria brought about by frosts that devas-

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tated Brazilian crops—"was not directly reflected in wages," as a high official of the Brazilian Coffee Institute recognized.[19]

Actually export crops are not in themselves incompatible with the welfare of the population, nor do they in themselves contradict an "inward" economic development. Sugar sales abroad have in fact given Cuba leverage to create a new world in which all have access to the fruits of development, and solidarity is the axis of human relations.

So we know who is condemned to pay for the crisis of system-adjustment. The prices of most of the products Latin America sells decline implacably in relation to the prices of what it buys from countries that monopolize technology, trade, investment, and credit. To make up the difference and meet the obligations to foreign capital, *Latin America must cover in quantity what it loses in price.* In this framework the southern dictatorships have cut workers' wages in half and turned every production center into a forced labor camp. *The workers also have to compensate for the fall in value of their labor power, which is the product they sell in the market. They must make up in quantity—quantity of hours—what they lose in purchasing power of their wages. The laws of the international market are thus reproduced in the micro-world of every Latin American worker's life.* For workers who have "the luck" to count on a regular job, the eight-hour day exists only in the dead letter of the laws. They often work 10, 12, even 14 hours; and not a few have lost their Sundays.

Simultaneously on-the-job accidents have multiplied—human blood offered on the altar of productivity. Three examples in Uruguay at the end of 1977:

- Railroad quarries producing stones and ballast double their output. In early spring, 15 workers die in a gelignite explosion.
- Lines of unemployed outside a fireworks factory; children working on the production lines; records broken. On December 20, an explosion: five workers dead, dozens wounded.
- At 7 a.m. on December 28, workers refuse to enter a fish-canning factory because they smell a strong odor of gas. They are threatened: if they don't go in, they lose their jobs.

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They continue to refuse. Renewed threats: we'll call in the army. The firm has already summoned the army on other occasions. The workers enter. Four dead, many hospitalized. Ammonia gas was escaping.[20]

Maria Carolina de Jesus was born amid garbage and vultures.

She grew, suffered, worked hard; loved men, had kids. She kept a notebook where she jotted down, in crude handwriting, an account of her tasks and her days.

A journalist happened to read the notebooks and Maria Carolina de Jesus became a famous writer. Her book *Quarto de Despejo*,* diary of five years in a sordid São Paulo slum, was read in 40 countries and translated into 13 languages.

A Cinderella in Brazil, transformed into a global consumer product, Maria Carolina de Jesus left the slum to tour the world, be interviewed and photographed and garlanded by critics, regaled by the gentry and received by presidents.

The years passed. Early in 1977, on a Sunday morning, Maria Carolina de Jesus died, amid garbage and vultures. No one remembered the woman who had written: "Hunger is the dynamite of the human body."

She who had lived on leftovers could ephemerally become one of the elect. She was allowed to sit at the table. After the dessert, the magic was broken. And while her dream lasted, Brazil had continued to be a country where 100 workers are injured every day in work accidents and where four of every ten children are obliged from birth to become beggars, thieves, or magicians.

The statistics may wear a smile, but the people get taken. In systems organized upside down, when the economy grows, social injustice grows with it. In the most successful phase of the Brazilian "miracle," infant mortality rose in the slums of the country's wealthiest city. The sudden oil boom in Ecuador brought color TV instead of schools and hospitals.

The cities swell up to the point of explosion. In 1950 Latin America had six cities with a population of over a million. In 1980 it will have 25.[21] On the edges of great urban centers

* Published in English as *Child of the Dark* (New York: Dutton, 1962).

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the hordes of workers expelled from the countryside share the fate that the system reserves for "surplus" city youth. In the Latin American picaresque style the hustlers perfect ways to survive. "The productive system has demonstrated patent insufficiency to generate productive employment which absorbs the region's growing labor force, especially the large contingents of urban labor. . . ."[22]

An International Labor Organization study recently showed that Latin America has more than 110 million persons in a condition of "serious poverty." Seventy million of them can be considered "indigent."[23] What percentage of the population eat less than they need? In the technicians' language, those receiving "incomes below the cost of minimal balanced diet" are 42 percent of the population of Brazil, 43 percent of Colombians, 49 percent of Hondurans, 31 percent of Mexicans, 45 percent of Peruvians, 29 percent of Chileans, 35 percent of Ecuadoreans.[24]

How to stifle the rebellious explosions of the great condemned majorities? How to head off those explosions? How avoid those majorities becoming ever larger, if the system doesn't function for them? Leaving aside charity, the police remains.

In our countries the terror industry pays dearly, like any other, for foreign "know-how." U.S. repression technology, tested at the four corners of the earth, is bought and applied. But it would be unjust not to credit Latin America's ruling classes with a certain creative capacity in this field.

Independent economic development was beyond the capacity of our bourgeoisies, and their attempts to create a national industry had a short low flight, like a hen's. Throughout our historical process the masters of power have likewise demonstrated their lack of political imagination and their cultural sterility. On the other hand they did know how to set up a giant fear machine and have made their own contributions to the technique of exterminating persons and ideas. In this sense the recent experience of the River Plate countries is revealing.

"The task of disinfection will take us a long time," the Argentine brass warned when they took the stage. The armed

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forces were successively summoned by Uruguay's and Argentina's ruling classes to crush the forces of change, tear them up by the roots, perpetuate the internal orders of privilege, and generate economic and political conditions that would seduce foreign capital: scorched earth, tranquility and order, workers cheap and meek. There is nothing more orderly than a cemetery. The population immediately became the internal enemy. Any sign of life, of protest, or even mere doubt, is a dangerous challenge from the standpoint of military doctrine and national security. So complicated mechanisms of prevention and punishment have been developed.

A deep rationality lurks behind appearances. *To operate effectively, the repression must appear arbitrary.* Apart from breathing, any human activity can constitute a crime. In Uruguay torture is applied as a routine system of interrogation: *anyone may be its victim,* not only those suspected or guilty of acts of opposition. *In this way panic fear of torture is spread through the whole population, like a paralyzing gas that invades every home and implants itself in every citizen's soul.*

In Chile the hunt for human prey left a balance of 30,000 dead, but in Argentina they don't shoot: they kidnap. The victims "disappear." The invisible armies of the night carry out the task. There are no corpses and no one is responsible. In this way the bloodbath has the more impunity for not being "official," *and thus collective anxiety is more potently spread around. No one renders accounts, no one offers explanations. Each crime builds horrible uncertainty in persons close to the victim and is also a warning for everyone else. State terrorism aims to paralyze the population with fear.*

To get a job and keep it in Uruguay, one needs to stay in the good graces of the military. In a country where it's so tough to find work outside of the barracks and police stations, this not only serves to drive into exile a good part of the 300,000 citizens listed as leftists. *It is also useful as a threat hanging over those who stay.* Montevideo newspapers often feature public penitences and declarations by citizens who beat their breasts just in case: "I have never been, I am not, I never will be. . . ."

In Argentina it is no longer necessary to ban any book by decree. The new Penal Code penalizes, as always, the writer

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and publisher of a book considered subversive. But it also penalizes the printer (so that no one will dare to print a text that is merely doubtful) and the distributor and the bookstore (so that no one will dare sell it); and as if this weren't enough, it also penalizes the reader, so that no one will dare read it, much less keep it. Thus the consumer of a book gets the same treatment the law applies to consumers of drugs.[25] *In this program for a society of deaf mutes, each citizen has to become his own Torquemada.*

In Uruguay it is a crime not to inform on your neighbor. Students entering the university swear in writing that they will denounce anyone who indulges on campus in "any activity outside the functions of study." The student assumes co-responsibility for whatever occurs in his presence. *In this program for a society of sleepwalkers, all citizens must be their own and others' policeman.* However, the system—with good reason—is mistrustful. There are 100,000 police and soldiers in Uruguay, but there are also 100,000 informers. Spies work the streets, cafes and buses, factories and high schools, offices and the university. Anyone voicing a complaint about life being so expensive and so hard ends up in jail: he or she has committed a "crime against the moral force of the Armed Forces," for which the price is three to six years behind bars.

In the January 1978 referendum, one voted "Yes" for the Pinochet dictatorship by marking a cross beneath the Chilean flag. To vote "No," one put the cross beneath a black rectangle.

The system would like to be confused with the country. The system *is* the country, says the official propaganda that bombards the citizenry day and night. The enemy of the system is a traitor to the fatherland. Capacity for indignation against injustice and a desire for change are proofs of desertion. In many Latin American countries, citizens who aren't exiled beyond the frontiers live as exiles on their own soil.

But even while Pinochet celebrated his victory, strikes which the dictatorship called "collective labor absenteeism" were breaking out all over Chile, despite the terror. The great majority of kidnapped and disappeared people in Argentina are workers who performed some union activity. The limitless

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popular imagination keeps hatching new forms of struggle—the "Sad Faces Workday," the "Angry Faces Workday"—and solidarity finds new channels for the escape from fear. Numerous unanimous strikes occurred in Argentina through 1977, when fear of losing one's life was as real as the risk of losing one's job. A stroke of the pen can't destroy the power of response of an organized working class with a long fighting tradition. In May of the same year, when the Uruguayan dictatorship was balancing up its program of emptying minds and performing collective castration, it was forced to recognize that "37 percent of the country's citizens are still interested in politics."[26]

In these lands we are not experiencing the primitive infancy of capitalism but its vicious senility. *Underdevelopment isn't a stage of development, but its consequence.* Latin America's underdevelopment arises from external development, and continues to feed it. A system made impotent by its function of international servitude, and moribund since birth, has feet of clay. It pretends to be destiny and would like to be thought eternal. All memory is subversive, because it is different, and likewise any program for the future. The zombie is made to eat without salt: salt is dangerous, it could awaken him. The system has its paradigm in the immutable society of ants. For that reason it accords ill with the history of humankind, because that is always changing. And because in the history of humankind every act of destruction meets its response, sooner or later, in an act of creation.

NOTES

1. Interview with Jean-Pierre Clerc, *Le Monde,* Paris (May 8-9, 1977).
2. *The Nation,* New York (August 28).
3. The crime occurred in Washington on September 21, 1976. Various Uruguayan, Chilean, and Bolivian political exiles had previously been murdered in Argentina. Most noteworthy among them were General Carlos Prats, key figure in the Allende government's military setup, whose car blew up in a Buenos Aires garage on September 27, 1974; General Juan José Torres, who had headed a short-lived anti-imperialist government in Bolivia and was riddled with bullets on June 15, 1976; and the Uruguayan legislators Zelmar Michelini and Héctor Gutiérrez Ruiz, kidnapped, tortured, and murdered in Buenos Aires between March 18 and 21, 1976.
4. The agrarian reform, started under the Christian Democratic government and deepened by Popular Unity, was also destroyed. See María Beatriz de Albuquerque W., "La agricultura chilena: modernización capitalista o regresión a formas tradicionales? Comentarios sobre la

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contra-reforma en Chile," *Ibero-Americana,* vol. 6, 2 (1976), Institute of Latin American Studies, Stockholm.

5. Three months later there were elections in the university. They were the only elections remaining. The dictatorship's candidates got 2.5 percent of the university votes. So to defend democracy, the dictatorship added substantially to the jail population and handed over the university to the 2.5 percent.
6. *Veja,* no. 444, São Paulo (March 9, 1977).
7. U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, Foreign Appropriations for 1963, Hearings 87th Congress, 2nd Session, Part I.
8. *Déclaration de Lourdes* (October 1976).
9. *Le Nouvelliste,* Port-au-Prince, Haiti (March 19-20, 1977). Data cited by Agustín Cueva in *El desarrollo del capitalismo en América Latina* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1977).
10. Ida May Mantel, *Sources and Uses of Funds for a Sample of Majority-Owned Foreign Affiliates of U.S. Companies, 1966-1972,* U.S. Dept. of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business* (July 1975).
11. United Nations, Economic Commission for Latin America, *El desarrollo económico y social y las relaciones externas de América Latina,* Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic (February 1977).
12. Money, which has its little wings, travels without a passport. A sizable part of the profits generated by the exploitation of our resources escapes to the United States, Switzerland, Federal Republic of Germany, or other countries where it performs a circus somersault and returns to our shores converted into loans.
13. Agustín Cueva, *op. cit.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. United Nations, ECLA, *op. cit.*
16. UNCTAD, *The Marketing and Distribution System for Bananas* (December 1974).
17. "Reflexiones sobre la desnutrición en México," *Comercio Exterior,* Banco Nacional de Comercio Exterior, S.A., vol. 28, no. 2, Mexico (February 1978).
18. Roger Burbach and Patricia Flynn, *Agribusiness Targets Latin America,* NACLA, vol. 13, no. 1, New York (January-February 1978).
19. *Ibid.*
20. Data from trade union and journalism sources published in *Uruguay Informations,* nos. 21 and 25, Paris.
21. United Nations, ECLA, *op. cit.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. ILO, *Empleo, crecimiento y necesidades esenciales* (Geneva, 1976).
24. United Nations, ECLA, *op. cit.*
25. In Uruguay the inquisitors have modernized themselves: an odd mixture of Middle Ages and capitalist business sense. The military don't burn books: now they sell them to paper factories, which shred and convert them into pulp for return to the consumer market. It isn't true that Marx is not available to the public. True, not in the form of books, but in the form of paper napkins.
26. Press conference of President Aparicio Méndez (May 21, 1977), in Paysandú. "We are saving the country from the tragedy of political passion," said the President. "Good folk don't talk about dictatorships, don't think about dictatorships, and don't claim human rights."

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MARXISM

BY BERTELL OLLMAN

The role of Marxism in universities is only slightly less obscure than the role of universities in Marxism, but perhaps some light can be shed on both subjects by examining Marx's little-known response to an ancient Roman myth.

Cacus was a Roman mythological figure who stole oxen by dragging them backwards into his den so that the footprints made it appear they had gone out from there. After quoting Luther's account of the story, Marx exclaims: "an excellent picture, it fits the capitalist in general, who pretends that what he has taken from others and brought into his den emanates from him, and by causing it to go backwards, he gives it the semblance of having come from his den."

Capitalists present themselves as producers of wealth, providers of jobs, donors and public benefactors. The press (their press) usually refers to them as "industry." Is this an accurate description of who they are and what they do? What stands out clearly from the example of Cacus is that what Marx (and Marxists) call bourgeois ideology does not so much falsify the facts as misinterpret them so as to reverse what has taken place.

Bertell Ollman, a Marxist, is associate professor of politics at New York University. His appointment as head of the University of Maryland's political science department has been a major issue in the state's gubernatorial campaign.

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The footprints are there for all to see, but if we limit ourselves to what is immediately apparent (the subject matter of "empirical" social science) we will arrive at a conclusion that is the exact opposite of the truth.

Only if we examine what led up to the event in question and its surrounding circumstances—that is, its real history and the system of events in which it resides—can we hope to understand what really happened and why.

In the case of the capitalists, only by examining how they got their wealth from the surplus labor of previous generations of workers (history) and how our laws, customs and culture are biased in their favor (structure) can we see it is not the capitalists who are serving society but the rest of society that is serving them.

Though many have criticized Marxism as one-sided because of its emphasis on economic processes, Marxism is really our only all-sided analysis of capitalism as a social system, including its real history, actual workings and future possibilities. Lacking the perspective provided by this analysis, the different events studied by political science, economics, psychology, etc., appear disconnected and arbitrary, and often acquire a meaning that is the exact opposite of how these events function inside capitalism.

Yet some people continue to ask: Should Marxism be taught in a university? If we let our eyes wander away from the footprints left by Cacus's oxen, then we can see the correct question: Does an educational institution that does not teach Marxism deserve to be called a university?

Serious non-Marxist scholars in every field appreciate the contribution Marxism makes in posing the bigger questions, at least. And enough have come to accept its holistic explanations to make Marxism the major alternative to orthodox approaches in history and economics (political science is soon to follow).

And the capitalists, and those Marx called their "ideological handmaidens," who are protesting that teaching Marxism constitutes "indoctrination". . . .? Well, Cacus, too, had an interest in keeping people from finding out what went on in his cave.

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BOOKS

BUSINESS SCHOLARSHIP FILLS THE BRIBERY GAP

By Edward S. Herman

Bribery and Extortion in World Business: A Study of Corporate Political Payments Abroad by Neil H. Jacoby, Peter Nehemkis, and Richard Eells. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1977. 294 pp. $12.95.

This book, written explicitly "from the perspective of American companies doing business in other nations of the world," provides an unqualified defense of U.S. business behavior abroad and support for a continuation of business (and bribery) as usual. As such it meets a pressing demand from the business community in the wake of the 1970s' exposures of massive internal and external corporate payoffs, all of them undercover and many of them illegal. It is of some interest that the authors are academicians (although all three are described on the jacket as business advisors and consultants as well), and that one of them is Director of the Program for Studies of the Modern Corporation, at Columbia University. In an age of proliferating university chairs in "Free Enterprise," endowed by business firms, this fits a pattern. Although the bulk of academe in the "soft sciences" has never strayed very far into critical paths, since the Second World War it has resumed its traditional ideological function with greater uniformity

The author is Professor of Finance, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

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and a vigor and openness—illustrated in the work under review—that recall the early nineteenth-century economist Nassau Senior's reference to his own work as "the economics of the rich."

The enemies' list of this conservative counterattack includes, especially, Senator Frank Church, for his "moralistic" and unconstructive investigation of the multinational corporation; the Securities and Exchange Commission, for exceeding its authority in forcing corporate disclosure of foreign and domestic payoffs; and that old Nixon nemesis, a media which is "generally hostile to the business community" (and which "not only challenged but defeated a president of the United States"). This level of political discourse is matched by an ethnocentrism that simultaneously conveys an impression of U.S. moral superiority ("in the Middle East, words do not always mean what they appear to say," etc.), while rationalizing the status quo on grounds of the alleged arrogance of both attempting to export morality and failing to bribe in bribe-ridden cultures ("failing to conform to the customs and traditions of host nations").

The defense of corrupt business practices is a patchwork of mostly familiar clichés and evasions. A primary set is that corruption is pervasive and is based on deep human impulses—reiterated endlessly to show that we are dealing with something "apparently ineradicable and inevitable," to which sensible people must adjust. A problem arises here from the fact that China, Vietnam, and (to a less marked but still very distinct degree) the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries show less tendency toward corruption and fraud than Third World client states of the West in dealing with foreign economic interests. The authors deal with this by providing some very superficial evidence that *internal* corruption exists in the Soviet sphere and arguing that censorship precludes adequate information on the relevant issue. They cite a few cases of corruption in foreign business dealings, in one of which a Soviet official was executed for taking a bribe, but this does not lead them to the obvious inference that the Soviets take such crimes very seriously indeed. They claim inadequate information on China, although Gunnar Myrdal, whose *Asian Drama* they cite for other purposes on the corruption issue, states categorically that the Communist powers "ordinarily stamp out corruption" and that he "has never heard it alleged that bribes are offered or paid by the commercial agencies of Communist countries." The difference between the immensity of Saigon government corruption under U.S. tutelage and the (by com-

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parison) negligible corruption of the North Vietnamese government was noted by all serious students of recent Vietnamese history. But since all of this is incompatible with the hypothesis to be proved in this book, the compelling evidence of lesser Communist extortion and bribery in external business is evaded and misrepresented.

A second emphasis of Jacoby *et al* is the great importance of *extortion,* in contrast to bribery. In many areas of the world venality is widespread, and both the top leadership and lower-rung bureaucrats systematically demand payoffs. Foreign businessmen are often coerced into paying up, against their desires and convictions. Where this is so the businessman has a dilemma and may be described as a victim of extortion rather than a victimizer by bribe offers. Bribery even becomes part of the competitive process, and companies solicit business on the basis of quality, price, and corruption. Those firms not willing to compete on the basis of all three variables, especially the last, may have to withdraw from the business or face certain defeat. This is less applicable to companies with unique product-service offerings, which can sometimes afford to be "clean"; it has been most significantly applicable to the sale of military equipment and systems to Third World governments.

Several caveats are in order, however. One is that extortion and bribery are often hard to disentangle; and although Jacoby *et al* sometimes acknowledge this, they choose to downgrade the two-sidedness of the corruption of many transactions as well as the numerous cases of actively initiated bribery. There are now many illustrations of U.S. companies' searching diligently for opportunities to bribe, and they have sometimes been competing in corruption only with other American companies. A great many publicly released company reports on questionable payments suggest that the relevant "local customs" have been those of the companies involved. The authors also neglect the similarity and connectedness of foreign and domestic bribery. The machinery and incentives of a Gulf or a Phillips to bribe "offshore" were paralleled by almost indistinguishable efforts to buy access and influence at home. But to make this linkage would tend to discredit foreign bribery and make its ultimate ethical defense (discussed below) unmanageable.

The authors rationalize extortion payments as a defensive response to pure blackmail; but plain bribery is also defended as a necessary means of doing business and protecting investments in hostile environments. If demagogic foreign politicians threaten

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expropriation or punitive tax increases, protective outlays to "responsible" political parties and for military subversion would be appropriate behavior. The authors never discuss cases—if any are conceivable within their theoretical framework—where *non*-demagogic foreign politicians might legitimately raise taxes or expropriate property; but on their general principles of bribery as prudent investment, subversion would be sound business in any case. They defend the ITT offer of money to the CIA to finance the overthrow of a democratic government in Chile as a perfectly legitimate bribe, given the threat to ITT's property. In an unusually blatant lapse of scholarship, the defense of the ITT offer is also grounded on a supposed failure of the U.S. government to lend any support whatever to ITT's interests in Chile. (p. 104) In their recommendations, the authors favor stronger U.S. government support for business interests abroad—not gunboat diplomacy, but "diplomatic overtures," "strong economic sanctions," "veto [of] an offending nation's access to the International Monetary Fund or to the World Bank," and the freezing of foreign deposits in U.S. banks. The authors say that if these things were done, CIA covert intervention could be reduced. In fact, the first three of their recommendations for limited intervention were carried out against Allende, and in addition covert CIA and Pentagon action greatly aided in the overthrow of democracy in Chile. A critical flaw in conservative platitudes about U.S. multinationals as victims of unscrupulous foreigners is the convenient disregard of the American role in bringing into power and protecting venality-prone elites. In the conservative mythology, just as the "media"—solidly entrenched members of the business community—are "anti-business," so the government is an autonomous entity in a hostile relationship to business, failing to protect it from Allende, harassing it with its moralistic attacks on bribery, etc. For the purpose at hand, this mythology is clearly serviceable. If, however, the leaders of the shakedown states—like Marcos, Suharto, Balaguer, the Shah, and Somoza—are in place because of U.S. government connivance and support, the picture of the U.S. businessman as a victim of alien forces quickly fades. In its place is substituted the quite accurate view of the shakedown state as a product of U.S. official (and business) choice and power, with extortion and bribery an acceptable trade-off for an open-door and "responsible" mode of behavior toward foreign interests.[1]*

* Notes will be found at the end of article.

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There is a relationship between venality and willingness to "deliver the goods" to business at the expense of the community at large, nicely illustrated at home by Richard Nixon, enthusiastically supported by business for his essential subservience to it, but at the same time the power behind the greatest political shakedown of business in U.S. history.

At the very least, the relationship of U.S. power and interests to the establishment and preservation of states in which bribery is endemic is an issue that ought to be addressed in any scholarly examination of bribery and corruption in world business. In the volume under review, the question is never raised.

The low point in this book is reached in its long and repetitive discussion of the "ethical" issues, which, it turns out, are "complex," and thus permit no simple and moralistic conclusions. It is acknowledged that bribery and extortion subvert the supposed purpose of governments "to render justice and provide for the common good," and conflict with a "generally accepted ideal." But the counter-arguments are strong: "When in Rome . . ."; most payments are extortions, not bribes; and, at a "still deeper" level, the fact that not making the required payments might cause a loss of business (why this is a moral issue, let alone a "still deeper" one, is unexplained). "Deeper" yet, and a "perplexing question," is whether if bribe-ridden multinationals bring economic benefits to the masses this should not "outweigh the moral imperative not to perform actions that violate the public trust of politicians." This deeper morality is the worst kind of rationalization of immoral means on the grounds of their contribution to beneficent ends. The ends in this instance are purely material, whereas the corrupt means extend into the culture and social fabric of the country, and the rationalization conveniently justifies business as usual. The deeper morality also lacks a convincing factual base; the authors simply assume the beneficence of multinational business to the world's poor. The masses in Brazil, for example, would probably be surprised to hear that development has given them "the main conditions for a decent human life." Following the U.S.-sponsored military coup of 1964, which greatly enhanced the power of multinationals in Brazil, the military budget tripled in real terms, expenditures on public health fell by 30 percent, and the real income of the bottom 80 percent of the population has been "steadily dropping since 1964."[2] And in an important study of the impact of multinational development on

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43 poor countries, Irma Adelman and Cynthia Taft Morris found that "the position of the poorest 60 percent typically worsens, both relatively and absolutely" with modern development when "associated with political and economic domination by traditional or expatriate elites."[3] Gulf & Western in the Dominican Republic does not call to mind a corporate Robin Hood but rather something more akin to a looter of tin cups—in collaboration with a traditional elite—at the expense of a population rendered passive by U.S.-sponsored force.

Solutions to the problems of international extortion and bribery, looked at "from the perspective of American companies," are naturally not going to be very far-reaching, since things are really not bad and would be better if the moralists would lay off and the U.S. government were more aggressive in defense of U.S. business interests. In fact, the only substantial proposals are for more aggressive U.S. government actions abroad—the others are largely token appeals for everybody to behave better (including a proposal that multinationals "support studies of business ethics at home and abroad"). More substantial proposals might include the following:

(1) A cessation of U.S. sponsorship and support of corruption-ridden governments, which are also usually serious violators of human rights.

(2) A radical reduction in U.S. arms sales to Third World countries—an export sector notoriously bribe-ridden, and objectionable on other grounds. Without U.S. sponsorship and support, many of the biggest Third World government arms buyers would not now be in power, and with a shift in U.S. policy they would have a short life expectancy.

(3) Encouragement of U.S. companies to do business with non-bribe-taking countries like Vietnam, Cuba, and China, where there is a greater likelihood that the benefits of international exchange would actually improve the conditions of ordinary citizens.

These are liberal and humanistic proposals, hardly admissible in a work looking at corruption from a business perspective; and they are mentioned here with tongue in cheek. Given the structure and interest factors that have made the United States the sponsor protector of what is now a *system* of Third World fascism, these proposals are utopian. And President Carter's "human rights" crusade, which has insisted on nothing more than an occasional gesture within the U.S. sphere of influence, can be aptly described as "public relations utopianism."

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NOTES

1. The systematic character of this evolution of the shakedown and repressive state in the U.S. sphere of influence, the importance of U.S. sponsorship and support, and the similar degree of homogeneity of this satellite system with that of the USSR in Eastern Europe are discussed at length in *The Pentagon-CIA Archipelago: The "Washington Connection" and Third World Fascism,* by the author and Noam Chomsky (Boston: South End Press, 1978).
2. Quoting *Business Week* (April 28, 1975), p. 42. See also Jan K. Black, *United States Penetration of Brazil* (1977), chap. 14.
3. *Economic Growth and Social Equity in Developing Countries* (1973), p. 69.

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RACISM AND SEXISM IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

By George Kirschner and Candy Systra

Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks, Robert B. Moore, editor. New York: The Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977. $7.95.

Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks became much more meaningful for us as a result of a recent experience at our school. Our spring musical, *Oklahoma!*, was performed many times in a school that prides itself on its devotion to social issues, its humanism, and its dedication to eradicating oppression. As many of us became aware of the overt sexism in the show, we were shocked. Perhaps what is traditional goes unquestioned, even where conscious efforts to recognize and shun racist and sexist stereotypes exist. This handbook helps to provide a challenge to these traditions as they appear in U.S. history textbooks.

Most thoughtful Americans are painfully aware of the stereotyping and biased reporting with reference to blacks, native Americans, and women—not to speak of the omission of relevant information about Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asian Americans—in our older American history textbooks. In recent years, however,

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Candy Systra, a feminist and teacher, is concerned with the influence of language on perception. George Kirschner, a former brewer, began teaching at the age of 50, and is enjoying almost every moment of it. Both teach at the Walden School in New York City.

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as a result of militant struggles by Third World and women's groups, it has been widely assumed that these distortions and omissions have disappeared from revised and new textbooks used in our schools. The Council on Interracial Books for Children, after a study of thirteen widely used history books (twelve published since 1970), says no. True, the new texts eliminate some of the more outrageous falsifications of older texts and now even include a few token paragraphs on the formerly invisible groups.

Working with *Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions* is like working with a skilled advisor who has a highly raised consciousness in these areas. It offers a fine overview of the impact of racism and sexism in a major institution of our society, the educational system. It gives the sense that the examples from even the most recent history textbooks are not isolated expressions of the pervasiveness of racism and sexism in our lives.

Each chapter of the book, devoted to one group, juxtaposes quotations from the current textbooks being evaluated, thought-provoking comments describing the distortions present in the quotation, and references to the source of the information. These statements are organized by major topical headings such as "war and violence," "textbook terminology is Eurocentric," and "poor Third World women face triple oppression today." This format also provides a checklist at the end of each chapter for evaluating future textbooks. (For an illustration of how it works see page 47.)

Each of the chapters (on African Americans, Asian Americans, native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and women) begins with an excellent introduction that serves as a basic statement of the authors' rationale for a challenge of the 13 American history textbooks under examination. These introductions are good history, and they pose some very interesting questions.

For example, the introductory chapter on African Americans suggests the possibility of organizing a history class around W. E. B. Du Bois' remark that American history can best be understood by studying the status and treatment of black people and their response to that treatment.

In the initial statement on Asian Americans, noting the similarities of all oppressed groups, the authors, while differentiating the situation of Chinese Americans, provide a basis for understanding later immigrants. "The Chinese therefore became a model for the later treatment of other 'free' Third World peoples—a mobile yet controlled group as part of a labor caste system." Drawn to our shores only when business needed them, they were paid less

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Quotation	Comment	Reference
Few had money to buy a farm, and so many Chinese became cooks and laundrymen. American pioneers often thought such jobs unmanly, but Chinese men did not think it was only women's work to feed people or do laundry. —*The Impact of Our Past,* p. 547	This quote is misleading. Since most Chinese were saving money to return to China, few wanted to buy farms. Moreover, this text—like many—omits the systematic exclusion of Chinese laborers from urban industries and agriculture. Exclusion was brought about through boycotts, "anti-coolie clubs," and physical violence. The success of this policy became evident with the near disappearance of Chinese—by 1910—from any occupation that was competitive with whites. Chinese were forced into service jobs looked down upon by white workers. The cigar industry provides an example. Chinese first appeared in the industry in the 1850s and by 1866 owned half the cigar production in San Francisco. By 1870, they comprised 90 percent of the labor force. In 1874, white cigar makers adopted a made-by-white-labor cigar label. Under the "leadership" of Adolph Strasser and Samuel Gompers, the Cigar Makers International Union, in 1884, organized a boycott of brands produced by Chinese labor, and by the late 1880s Chinese had been driven out of the industry.	"Anti-Oriental Agitation and the Rise of Working Class Racism," Herbert Hill, in *Society,* January 1973. *To Serve the Devil: vol. 2,* Jacobs, Landau, and Pell, pp. 66-166. *Chinese-Americans,* pp. 58-85. *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California,* Alexander Saxton, pp. 3-19. Description of the labor force in California.

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than whites. Interracial working-class unity was discouraged by the stimulation of "friction among groups of Third World workers and divisions between them and white workers, in order to keep down wages paid to all labor."

In this way, we are offered a new framework for exploration, discussion, and conflict concerning the portrayal of Asian Americans in most of our American history textbooks. Here, not only is our attention directed to the past, but we are made aware of crucial aspects of present-day conditions: "The Asian American served as the test group to develop and refine the system of institutional racial oppression operating throughout business, labor unions, education, employment practices, etc.—the system that continues to exploit Third World people in the U.S. today." How appropriate!

The terminology section is vital to the book. The authors insist that language is not static, and that words are political weapons. They write, for example: "Hero—any heroic person, male or female. We deliberately avoid feminine endings, because historically such suffixes have been used to connote something 'lesser than' the male meanings."

In addition to its obvious usage for textbook evaluation, this volume challenges us to find other ways to utilize it. As a class exercise, for example, the rewriting of sections of a history book by groups of students, in an effort to produce a more conscious and accurate understanding of oppressed people, could be a most exciting classroom adventure, which would require special research in the documents written by the oppressed. How meaningful for students to comprehend the United States through the feelings and aspirations of those who were (and are) at the bottom, struggling! This kind of experience doesn't remain in the classroom but serves to help develop a continuous concern and sensitization to these issues.

Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks is a valuable document. It makes us aware of the insidious ways in which racism and sexism permeate all areas of our society. One major difficulty, however, is that it assumes great knowledge and sensitivity on the part of the reader. Unfortunately, our educational institutions do not provide teachers-to-be with sufficient awareness of the racist and sexist currents in our society. We can only hope that the continuing work of the Council will contribute to overcoming this defect in our educational apparatus.

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RACE & CLASS

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PROFIT AND ILLTH: FROM CARLYLE TO RUSKIN TO MORRIS

BY LOUIS HARAP

One effective antidote for capitalist apologetics these days is to return to, read, and take at their full depth the diagnoses of the ills of capitalism in the writings of English social critics from Carlyle to William Morris. To be sure, the skill of Carlyle and Ruskin in prescribing remedies did not approach the insight with which they penetrated to the mainspring of the miseries entailed in the free-enterprise system: the passion for profit. This remains the basic motive and driving force of capitalism down to our own day. This immitigable pursuit of profit makes for a proliferation of waste of every kind—of goods, of materials, of human labor, and finally of the very resources of earth. Ruskin had a name for this kind of waste—"illth"—the opposite of "wealth," production of all that diminishes and degrades humankind.

The early decades of the Industrial Revolution in England introduced its special brand of illth, the result of a colossal inhumanity and callousness to human welfare, and specifically of indifference to the welfare of its workers under the aegis of the

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Louis Harap is on the Editorial Board of *Jewish Currents*. The second edition of his book *The Image of the Jew in American Literature* has just been published.

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laissez-faire doctrine. In his *Chartism* (1839), Carlyle observed that "in no time, since the beginnings of Society, was the lot of those same dumb millions of toilers so entirely unbearable as it is even in the days now passing over us." Unfettered competition reigned supreme, together with the Iron Law of Wages and the outlawing of trade unions as illegal "combinations." The impulse of the Industrial and French revolutions was toward freeing the bourgeois entrepreneur from the shackles of mercantilism and setting him up as the ruling class. The revolutionary alliance with the lower economic orders necessary to achieve this victory was short-lived. The erstwhile ally, the working class, became the enemy. Already in his essay, "Signs of the Times," in 1829, Carlyle showed extraordinary insight into this process. He saw that the "grinding collision of the Old and the New" was not fathered by the French Revolution; that social cataclysm "was not the parent of this mighty movement, but its offspring." And he added that "political freedom," which has "hitherto [been] the object of these efforts" was not the end of the road, for "they cannot stop there." The new thing which was coming in with the triumph of the bourgeoisie was a rising working class, whose formation, suffering, heroism, and maturation is so profoundly traced in E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class.*

At the same time a strain of social criticism among some bourgeois intellectuals that went to the core of the problem was rising in England. This trend came to be known as "The Condition of England Question." In his *Chartism* Carlyle observed that "a feeling generally exists that the condition and disposition of the Working Classes is a rather ominous matter at present, that something ought to be said, something ought to be done, in regard to it." And Carlyle was vocal about it, and enormously influential in the process. The crass inhumanity and abject poverty of imagination of the reigning utilitarian laissez-faire ideology was mercilessly exemplified in Charles Dickens' *Hard Times* (1853). A character, Bitzer, "general spy and informer" for the factory boss Bounderby, has presented the latter's housekeeper Mrs. Sparsit with a half pound of tea for Christmas. He does this, says Dickens, even though he knows that the "only rea-

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sonable transaction in that commodity would have been to buy it for as little as he could possibly give, and sell it for as much as he could possibly get; it having been clearly ascertained by philosophers that in this comprised the whole duty of man—not a part of man's duty, but the whole." This philosophy, adds Dickens, taught that "the Good Samaritan was a Bad Economist."

In sheer self-preservation the working class had been resisting the actualization of this philosophy for decades before Carlyle took up the ideological sword in 1829 with his essay, "Signs of the Times." He inveighed against what he called the "Mechanical Age," and contrasted the current power over the external world with the failure of its "moral nature." "In true dignity of soul and character," he wrote, "we are perhaps inferior to most civilized ages." "Virtue," he said, "is but a calculation of the Profitable." He put his finger on the crux of the problem: everything was evaluated in terms of "profit": religion, virtue, pleasure—all are "profit." His insight deepened in *Chartism,* ten years later, when he exclaimed in horror that "Cash Payment has become the sole nexus of man to man!" This was nine years before Marx and Engels declared in the *Manifesto* that "the bourgeoisie . . . has left no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous cash payment." With passage of the brutal New Poor Law in 1834, which created subhuman workhouses for the unemployed and indigent, Carlyle said, laissez-faire "had reached its suicidal point."

Carlyle uttered his most mature and comprehensive condemnation of capitalism in *Past and Present* (1843). There he points to the irrational contradictions in English society—it is "full of wealth" but yet "dying of inanition"; "in the midst of plethoric plenty, the people perish"; England has "too many shirts," yet two million in the "workshops" have "bare backs" or are "shirtless or ill-shirted"; England has "more riches than any nation ever had before; we have less good of them than any nation ever had before." He condemns the domination of the "laws" of supply-and-demand, of laissez faire, of competition, of "Devil take the hindmost" as "altogether the shabbiest Gospels ever preached." He totally rejects, again, the current practice that "Cash-payment [is] the sole nexus of man to man."

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He tries to jolt the bourgeoisie out of its smug embrace of its own version of liberty. " 'The Liberty to die' of starvation" he exclaims, "is not so divine"! When it came to offering a solution, Carlyle proposed his weak and even reactionary ideas. In 1839 he looked to education and "general Emigration" to untilled corners of the earth. In 1843 he reiterated these solutions, adding that the Corn Laws and others should be repealed and some way found to give workers an interest in their enterprises. But these are not the real solutions for him. More than anything, it is necessary for the people to choose and believe in authentic heroes. "Hero-worship," he said, "measures accurately what degree of well- or ill-being there is in the world's affairs." In the years that followed, Carlyle became increasingly reactionary and obsessed with anti-democratic theories.

But his progressive ideas exerted enormous influence on his contemporaries. Among these was Frederick Engels, who wrote of *Past and Present* in 1844 that "among all the thick books and pamphlets that have been published in England during the last year . . . this [is] the only one worth reading." Engels was attracted to Carlyle not only because he was transmitting German language and literature to England, but also because he was keenly preoccupied with what Engels himself was doing at the time, drawing up an indictment of the English ruling class in his *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. Engels quoted many passages from *Past and Present* in his review of the book for the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher*. When Marx and Engels reviewed Carlyle's *Latter-Day Pamphlets* in 1850, they acknowledged that his early opposition to "the bourgeoisie in literature . . . at moments was even revolutionary"; but in these reactionary pamphlets, "genius has disappeared from the cult of genius. . . . Only the cult has remained."

While the influence upon Engels may have been one primarily of stimulus, Carlyle's influence on Ruskin was substantive and long-lasting. Many socio-economic ideas of Carlyle reappeared in John Ruskin, but on the whole Ruskin advanced the criticism of capitalism beyond that of his master, and gave it a deeper humanity. Ruskin began as an art critic whose basic assumption was that art was an expression of the whole human being, contrary to the compartmentalized notion of the esthete.

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His sensitivity to his fellow humans increasingly led him to strike out at the desperate condition of the working class, and by 1860 he was drawn away from art criticism to socio-economic theorization. In the 1850s he was already sensitive enough to the plight of the English masses to be lecturing at the Working Men's College in London. By the late 1850s he had begun to publish a series of books on political economy and social criticism which challenged the reigning laissez-faire economic theory directing the unfettered competition and total non-interference of government with the affairs of business (except, of course, to suppress workers' organization and action). This theory was essentially a rationalization for the current practice of "Captains of Industry." This political economy, wrote John A. Hobson, "became the bond slave of the rising manufacturing and trading classes" in their uninhibited rush for riches. While economists now believe that Ruskin made many mistakes, he is generally credited with having played an important part in the leadership of economic theory by his demolition of the notion of the "Economic Man."

To Ruskin, the most "disgraceful" theory in the history of the human intellect was "the modern idea that the commercial text, 'Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest' " could under any circumstances stand as "an available principle of national economy." This is only another way of describing a theory of the maximization of profits. Under this dispensation the aim of economic life is to enrich one part of the people at the expense of another part; it is to make "commodities . . . to be sold, and not to be consumed." So he wrote in *Unto This Last* (published as a magazine serial in 1860, and as a book in 1862), his most comprehensive socio-economic statement. The principle of the current ruling economics, he held, was for each individual "to get as much as possible for himself, and leave as little to his neighbors as possible." In contrast to this, he advanced the heterodox view that the objective should be not "to get profit for himself," but rather "to provide for the nation."

Basic to Ruskin's thought throughout is the contrast between "wealth" and "illth," a term he coined. Wealth is not "riches," that is, quantity of money, but that which conduces to the healthiest, happiest life for all the people; "illth" is every-

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thing opposite, the unhealthy, the wasteful, the unserviceable, the useless—whatever is destructive of life. It is no exaggeration to assert that all of Ruskin's work is an elaboration and specification of this separation of the life-enhancing from the life-depriving, of the useful from the useless, of the healthy from the unhealthy. He rejected current political economy because it was totally indifferent to the nature and destination of production except as it yielded profit. Ruskin attributes this destructive aspect of the economy to the "raging to be rich" on the assumption that "business is good, whether it be busy in mischief or in benefit; and the buying and selling are always salutary, whatever the intrinsic worth of what you buy and sell." He thundered against the production of the useless—or worse. He characterized as "negative production" "whatever was insidious waste of toil . . . in the production of unnecessary luxury." He inveighed against the adulteration of food for the poor.

Ruskin went beyond his indictment to propose remedies which to a remarkable degree anticipated many features of the welfare state won by bitter struggle of the working class in his century. In this respect he differed from Carlyle, whose remedial vision was not only backward, but also sterile. Ruskin's sensibilities were offended by the uglification of the landscape and the pollution brought on by ruthless early factory development. At an early stage of his social thought, in *The Two Paths* (1859), he protested the ugliness and squalor of industrial England and urged a clean-up of the environment. A few years later he complained that "the strength and life of the English operative were spent in defiling ground, instead of redeeming it," and that workers were often engaged in useless work instead of assuring "medicinal air, and pure water." Kenneth Clark has noted that Ruskin exerted influence in "town planning, smokeless zones, green belts . . . now taken for granted." In 1862 Ruskin advocated that the government set up vocational schools, and that the unemployed attend them; that the government establish factories and workshops producing genuinely useful articles which could serve as models for private industry, and could also supply jobs for the unemployed; that a minimum wage be assured irrespective of the demand and supply of labor; and that there be equal pay for equal work. "The first duty of a state," he

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wrote in *Time and Tide* (1867), is to assure that every child is "well-housed, clothed, fed, and educated, till it attain years of discretion." Free education, free libraries and old-age pensions were part of his program. Nothing could be more opposed to the economic views of his contemporaries than this challenge to the sacred cow of non-interference through the operation of laissez faire.

But if Ruskin's specific ideas about social welfare took him far beyond his master Carlyle, he was a true disciple in other respects. Ruskin was no democrat. His attitude toward the working class was paternalistic: reforms were to be attained through bestowal by those elevated in the social hierarchy. In 1867, he wanted it clearly understood that his proposals for adequate wages and old-age pensions were not intended to deprive the "master" of profits. He was not a believer in democracy in either the political or economic sense. Authority should always go from the top down on the assumption that power could and should be exercised with humanity and public spirit. While not so crass as Carlyle's resort to "hero-worship," Ruskin's view of the best mode of social control as that of a master-worker relationship was backward. When he spent the energies of his last competent years (he went hopelessly insane in 1889) in promoting his utopian St. George's Guild, which made no headway at all, he conceived of himself as the "master" who formulated aims and controlled affairs as the authority, without any structure of democratic participation. To him human beings were not born free and equal, as he made quite clear in a letter to Charles Eliot Norton in 1867: "The Americans as a nation put their trust in liberty and in equality, of which I detest the one, and deny the other." Holding such views, and in light of his paternalistic notions, it can hardly be said, as John A. Hobson did, that Ruskin was a "socialist." But this does not in any way detract from the trenchancy of his critique of capitalism and his previsions of advanced remedies possible for workers short of socialism.

One of Ruskin's earliest social themes was that of the factory workers' "alienation," though he never used the term. In his famous chapter "On the Nature of Gothic" in *Stones of Venice* (1853), he warns of the dangers to the human per-

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sonality in that "great civilized invention of the division of labor" which, he adds, is misnamed because "it is not, truly speaking, the labor that is divided, but the men:—Divided into segments of men—broken into small fragments and crumbs of life." This was one of the themes that was to form an element in Marx's notion of alienated labor under capitalism so profoundly analyzed in *The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* and in *Capital.* Under the division of labor, Marx wrote in the earlier work, the worker is "depressed spiritually and physically to the condition of a machine and from being a man becomes an abstract activity and a stomach." Ruskin charged that this "degradation of the operative into a machine" was depriving the workers of their humanity. Machine-tending was contrasted by him to craftsmanship which was the prevailing mode during the Middle Ages. Like Carlyle and so many of his contemporaries, Ruskin regarded human attitudes during the Middle Ages as superior to those current, especially with regard to modes of labor. While Ruskin did not call for a return to the Middle Ages, which he realized was impossible, he did urge that labor be liberated from slavery to the machine and that it return to artisan modes of working with a minimum of mechanization—clearly unfeasible in modern life. Marx too had called for the overcoming of alienated labor, but not by reversing the development of technology. Nevertheless, Ruskin's insight into the nature of alienated labor and his passionate demand that it be overcome, even if his solution was not feasible, did pose one of the basic challenges of our era, to both capitalism and an operative socialism itself. There is an elementary truth in Ruskin's saying: "Labor without joy is base. . . . Joy without labor is base."

It was this phase of Ruskin's teaching which formed one main theme of William Morris' discipleship of Ruskin, acknowledged by him many times. In 1892 Morris declared that "On the Nature of Gothic" was "one of the very few necessary and inevitable utterances of the century." Like Carlyle and Ruskin before him, Morris indicted "the condition of English workers" in the early years of the century as the worst in all English history. This happened, he said, because the suddenness of the changes and the dislocations brought on by the Industrial Revo-

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lution and of the change-over from craftsmanship to machine-tending occurred under the uncontrolled, ruthless drive for profits. In the process, not only did the physical conditions of life for the workers deteriorate intolerably, but the worker was converted into a tool destitute of all human creativity. Since for Morris everything made by people can be viewed under the aspect of art, industrial labor is destructive of art because its products are so ugly and workers take no pleasure in their making. Morris believed that art was the people's "expression of pleasure in labor," and most modern labor was "pleasureless." What he desired was "an art made by the people, and for the people, as a happiness to the maker and user." Although Ruskin was his inspiration for this line of thought, Morris also called attention several times to the fact that Fourier held the same view, namely, that "the necessity and possibility of making labor attractive is one which Socialism can by no means be without."

For Morris had taken the leap beyond his revered master Ruskin and had embraced revolutionary socialism. Carlyle had diagnosed the basic defect of capitalism—primacy of profit; Ruskin had reiterated and extended the diagnosis and had begun to suggest remedies; and Morris completed the process by espousing a radical solution—the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by socialism. Morris was a Marxist, even though he acknowledged that he had "suffered agonies of confusion of the brain over reading the pure economics of *Capital*," although he assimilated the historical sections of the book. He echoed Ruskin's ideas in revolutionary contexts: "riches" and "wealth" were different, the one conducing to a "decent life" and the other bestowing power over others; he agitated against pollution, "to keep the air pure and the rivers clear"; he realized that alienated labor had to be overcome—"the chief duty" of today's world was "to minimize unhappy labor"; society had to reverse the de facto commercial motto, "not the market for man, but man for the market."

To an even greater extent than Ruskin—because the social process was farther advanced—was Morris' ubiquitous critique of waste in the capitalist order because such production yields profit and not because it answers any need. There are "the thousand and one things which nobody wants" which are "mere-

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ly used as counters for the competitive buying and selling, falsely called commerce"; "the enormous mass of men . . . occupied with this miserable trumpery, . . . not merely useless, but actively destructive and poisonous, . . . adulterated food and drink, . . . this mountain of rubbish." The present economic order, said Morris, involved the masses of people in a "war . . . called competition" in which the capitalist is destructive of goods. Indeed, by Morris' time this "war" and commercialism had been so far intensified that he believed that "the very essence of competitive commerce is waste, the waste that comes of the anarchy of war." The waste involves the labor not only of factory workers but also of "an army of clerks and suchlike people." The organizers of this war play upon the "ignorance and gullibility of the consumers" by "adulteration and puffery." The rich dispose of their money with "various forms of folly and luxury, which means further waste of labor." Morris' indignation mounts at the squandering of human energy and of materials and consequent privation of happiness under capitalism. He warns that he has no intention of advocating asceticism, but rather "reasonable comfort and more refinement." He means to convey that capitalism "withdraws vast numbers of workers from the production of real utilities."

It is true that Morris, no less than Ruskin, did not fully grasp the necessity for machine production in both quality and quantity in modern or even in socialist society. He clearly stated that he did not advocate "abolishing all machinery," but that we should be "masters of our machines and not their slaves." But such acknowledgments were always half-hearted and insufficient, and in his visions of the future he largely discounted the central role that machines must play in any advanced society. Nor did he, any more than Ruskin, foresee or contemplate the possibility of alleviating the ugliness of anarchical machine-production by the widespread employment of industrial design, which, indeed, his own influence played such a potent part in bringing about.

A recall of these "condition-of-England" social critics today is a far from academic exercise. They help to form a necessary corrective to those liberal and "new conservative" apologists for capitalism who call our advanced society "post"-this and "post"-

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that, in the effort to persuade us that capitalism has changed so that it is really no longer capitalism, and that socialism is no longer an alternative. Those nineteenth-century critics reveal to us that the basic features of capitalism have remained unchanged from their day to our own, despite the elaboration of fantastic complications and unimagined technological novelty. The same specter haunts the capitalist world today as in Marx's time.

All social evils and religious errors arise out of the pillage of the laborer by the idler; the idler leaving him only enough to live on (and even that miserably), and taking all the rest of the produce of his work to spend in his own luxury, or in the toys with which he beguiles his idleness.

—Ruskin

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CORRESPONDENCE

URBAN POPULATION GROWTH IN CHINA AND THE USSR

By Charles Hoffmann

In the June 1978 issue of MONTHLY REVIEW, Hans Blumenfeld, in his critique of Larry Sawers' article, "Urban Planning in the Soviet Union," appearing in the March 1977 issue, concludes that "the evidence shows clearly that China has been less successful than the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries in limiting the growth of large cities and encouraging small ones." This inference follows a comparison of the two largest cities in the Soviet Union and China (Moscow and Leningrad; Shanghai and Peking) in which Blumenfeld's facts on the two Chinese cities are seriously in error, even though he recognizes that the totals for Shanghai and Peking include rural areas within their administrative jurisdiction—quite large rural areas.

Blumenfeld's totals for Shanghai and Peking, eleven and seven million, respectively, are incorrect for the total populations for the Shanghai and Peking administrative areas which include, but go much beyond, the cities proper. The totals are ten and eight million, respectively. His notion that the totals should be reduced by "as many as a million" is rather fanciful. Shanghai's urban area now has a population of about five and a half million (having declined from a high of over six million) while the analogous total

Charles Hoffman teaches economics at the State University of New York, Stony Brook, New York.

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for Peking is about four and a half million. In both cities, the decline in population has been the result of relocations and out-migrations of youth drastically changing the demographic profiles of the urban areas and reducing population growth. The population growth rates for the two cities including their rural areas are now below 6 per 1,000. Progress in a parallel way has been made by other Chinese cities, large and small. As two students of the changing demographic patterns report, ". . . the urban proportion of China's population has seen little or no growth since 1960." Containment of population growth, moreover, has not been restricted to the urban areas. In 1977, the growth rate in Sichuan (Szechuan) province—the largest in China with a total population exceeding 70 million—was 8.67 per 1,000. For the country as a whole the growth rate has been reduced from over 2 percent per annum to something around 1.5 percent per annum.

In the light of these data, it is clear that Blumenfeld needs to revise his analysis and conclusions. Moscow is larger than Shanghai, and Leningrad and Peking have about the same population. China has contained population growth most effectively in its urban centers, with good results also in some of its most populous provinces.

The data I cite come from several sources: For growth rates see *Peking Review,* No. 26, June 30, 1978, p. 31; the quotation and more comprehensive data on Shanghai as well as bases for the generalization about Chinese cities are to be found in Paul E. Ivory and William R. Lavely, "Rustication, Demographic Change, and Development in Shanghai," *Asian Survey,* March 1977, pp. 440-455. The population totals for the administrative areas of Shanghai and Peking are widely known, as are the sub-totals for the cities proper. Regarding Shanghai, I was given the breakdown from city planners when I visited there in 1973. Overall population figures on China can be obtained from John Aird, "Recent Provincial Population Figures," *The China Quarterly,* 73, March 1978, pp. 1-44.

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(*Continued from inside front cover*)

sense of the term, has yet to be equalled in the English-speaking world. His credo as a writer is well expressed in a statement which, blown up and framed, hangs on a wall of the MR office:

"Agitation based on information brings lasting converts to socialism; agitation based on exhortation does not.

"This simple fact is perhaps the chief defect of left propaganda in the United States. Truth is on our side. It is the job of the socialist propagandist to present the truth in the clearest and most persuasive form. It seems a pity to have to point out at this late date that jargon and name-calling neither clarify nor persuade. The use of left 'shorthand' such as 'fascist beast' and 'running dog of imperialism' may be the easiest way out for the overworked left writer, but it makes no sense to those readers who are not already in the charmed left circle.

"Yet the truth is so overwhelmingly on our side that we can understate the case with far greater effect than is gained by the overstatement of which so many left writers are guilty. What is the need for exaggeration or distortion when the facts shout our story so convincingly?"

We note with sadness the death on October 19th shortly before his 87th birthday and after a long illness of Herbert J. Phillips, known to all his friends and students as "Scoop." A professor of philosophy at the University of Washington, Scoop was fired in one of the most famous academic freedom cases of the early days of McCarthyism for the "crime" of being a member of the Communist Party. Paul Sweezy testified on the nature of Marxism for the defense in a "trial" before a faculty review committee which found for the defendants but was overruled by the university administration. His widow, Helga Phillips, wrote to Paul Sweezy after Scoop's death, "I wanted you to know that he often spoke of you and appreciated your tremendous contribution to social thought through the *Monthly Review*. Some of his ex-students in Seattle are planning a memorial service for him and will suggest contributions to *Monthly Review* as a remembrance." Our thanks and condolences go to Helga and to Scoop's many friends.

The following items were originally intended for inclusion in this space in the November issue:

(1) The Fourth Midwest Marxist Scholars Conference will be held March 9-11 at the University of Cincinnati on the theme "The U.S. Educational System: Marxist Approaches." Proposals for papers (30-40 minutes), shorter presentations, panel discussions, and workshops will be welcome *until November 15,* and should be addressed, along with requests for further information, to Frank Chapman, Department of Anthropology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri 63130 and/or to Marvin J. Berlowitz, College of Education, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio 45221.

(2) A group of young Quebec Marxist teachers and students of social science have started a new French-language review *Interventions*. Perusal of No. 1 (undated but carrying a notation that it was printed in June 1978) indicates that their accompanying letter is indeed correct in saying: "We think that this review could be of interest to you because, in spite of our weaknesses, we consider our editorial policy to be in the same general framework and political struggle as yours." The subscription price (for three numbers annually) is $7.50, and the address is *Interventions,* C.P. 98, Succ. Rosemont, Montreal H1X-3B6, Canada.

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